REPORT

ON THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

PRESERVED AT

BLICKLING HALL, NORFOLK.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,

BY MACKIE & CO. LD. 59 FLEET STREET, E.C.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from WYMAN and SONS, LD, FETTER LANE, E.C. and 32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH; or E. PONSONBY, 116, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1905.

[C—2319.]—VII. Price 2s. 2d.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Manuscripts at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, passed with that property to the Lothian family through the marriage of Lord Ancram (afterwards sixth Marquess) with Lady Henrietta Hobart, daughter of John, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire.

The present publication is due to the initiative and active personal interest of the late Constance Marchioness of Lothian, who a few years before her death permitted Mr. D'Arcy Collyer to examine and arrange the numerous charters and papers in her possession at Blickling, which had not been accessible to the Inspector on behalf of the Commissioners on his visit in 1869. These on examination arranged themselves under the three heads which follow:—

- 1. Ancient deeds and documents.
- 2. Hobart papers, documents belonging to the period commencing with the first connexion of the Hobart family with the property.
- 3. Buckinghamshire papers, belonging to the time of John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire.

The last section comprises part of a large collection of diplomatic correspondence and memoranda collected and endorsed by Lord Buckinghamshire himself, which was discovered by Constance Marchioness of Lothian in a cabinet, enclosed in antique cardboard boxes of foreign make, in which they had probably rested undisturbed for just over a century. An instalment of these papers has already been published by the Royal Historical Society in 1900 and 1902 (3rd series, Vols. 2 and 3), together with the text of the official despatches from St. Petersburg, noticed,

but not set out, in the Commissioners' first Report above mentioned.

The first two sections of the present Report contain gleanings from the Muniment Room, a remote turret room where the papers had been either stored in boxes which had made many a journey in the London "stage," or had been piled in miscellaneous heaps of rolls, charters correspondence, relating to persons whose significance had long since been forgotten, and to estates long parted with. These are now arranged in nine large tin boxes and docketed. Not till the documents had been cleaned and sorted was it possible out of this mass to evolve order or coherence. There then revealed itself, however, a singular and unexpected element of continuity in the presence, among the earlier muniments, of charters and rolls belonging to the foundations of Langley and Horsham St. Faith, two religious houses founded by the family of Fitz Robert (Cheyney), the first lay tenants of Blickling after the Conquest. This family held their manor in Blickling by grant or exchange from the Bishop of Norwich, whose predecessors had received it from the Conqueror in succession to Harold. The St. Faith's documents comprise court rolls going back to 49 Hen. III., and a number of charters of endowment; and the coincidence by which the muniments reverted after the dissolution of the monasteries to the home of their origin, if fortuitous, is remarkable. By a like coincidence, a charter of Bishop Eborard (p. 39) is among the documents, the Bishop who is recorded as having attempted in the beginning of the 12th century to recover the Cheyneys' manor to the see, on the ground of some condition in the grant. It was the destiny, however, of the two divisions of the manor into which the grant to John Fitz Robert had divided it, to become at last reunited in the hands of the lay holders, and the site of the Dagworth Manor House (where Blickling

Hall now stands) superseded that of the older structure (occupied by Harold) of which the traces are still discernible on the river's edge, north of the Park.

So large a collection of papers, of course, contains many matters of interest to the local antiquarian. The extract (at p. 61) of the Langley rental, which is only a minute specimen of the elaborate code of task work (filling many pages) detailed for a long list of tenants, calls to mind how old is the never ceasing dispute between master and men in a wet harvest; the 24 days' work must not be hurried over to the detriment of the crops, *mediante equitate et justitia ne nimis cito accipiantur*.

The records of Hevingham, once a favourite lodge of the Bishops of Norwich (whither, too, Edward I. came in his progress in 1277), supply a specimen of a manorial extent (p. 83) which exemplifies the great multiplicity of ownership which widely obtained from earliest times and the extremely artificial character of the subinfeudation.

It is noticeable that Bishop Askew, minister to De la Pole* (Earl of Suffolk) in the reign of Henry VI., emerged from the position of parish priest in this obscure village (p. 43).

Social life is illustrated by the covenant (of cosenage) of Humphrey Bourgchier (p. 65), and the letter of William Trussel on the education of a ward (p. 75). The letter appears to be a 15th century copy. The Trussels were connected with Weybourne, where the De Veres too left their name. A will of John Thetford of 1565 (p. 44), gives

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^{*} The De la Poles are chiefly remembered (looally) as the builders of the beautiful churches at Sall and Cawston.

bequests of his "sylver salte," his "bow and quiver of arrows."

Of wider and more national significance may be noticed e.g. the original (duplicate) in good preservation of the subsidy roll for the county of Norfolk made on the occasion of the knighthood of the Black Prince; the names of wellknown members of the royal party of Henry III. in a few charters; that of Joan Countess of Hertford (daughter of Edward I.), whose title is handed down into Richard the Second's time in connexion with Saxthorpe (p. 46); and (in the case of the Blickling records) a trace here and there of the distinguished statesmen and warriors who found here relaxation from the toils of peace and war. Blickling seems early to have been a favourite place for sport, and it is appropriate to find John Engaine in 1307 promulgating for Blickling the very scientifically drawn custumary which appears here (on pp. 22-24). Poaching was rife in the 14th century (pp. 25-28), and later Sir John Fastolf's bailiff seems to have had before his eyes the possible complaints of overpreservation of game from the "Hommages of the Lordschepes" (p. 57). Devolving always among collaterals and following several ramifications of the Chevney family, the manor fell to several distinguished owners. Margaret

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^{*} This warrior seems to have been official or hereditary master of the Pytcheley hunt. The lands which he held at Pightesley in the county of Northampton were held by the service of "finding at his own expense certain dogs for the destruction of wolves, foxes, martins and other vermin, within the counties of Northampton, Rutland, Oxford, Bucks, Essex and Huntingdon."

[†] De Cressi, Fitz Roger, Engaine and Dagworth are all descendants of the Cheyneys in the female line.

Cheyney, Aileen le Mareschal, Dagworth (who commanded in Aquitaine and suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Barons), Holveston, Sir Thomas Erpingham, of Agincourt and Shaksperian fame, Sir John Fastolf, the Boleyns and Sir Edward Clere, are among the noble owners whose names appear in these charters, but in none of the documents prior to the sale by Clere to the Hobarts can the personal share of the house in public life be definitely traced.

Sir Henry Hobart, Knight and Baronet, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, temp. James I., bought the Blickling estates from Sir Edward Clere, the representative of the Boleyns in the female line, and on the site of the Dagworth manor house built the mansion which remains impressive and beautiful an example of the architecture of his time. Sir Henry Hobart's public character is best known from the sketch by Judge Jenkins comparing him with his great contemporary, Coke:— "Two lights of the law, . . . the monument of whose genius and labour shall flourish so long as our most just and sacred laws, the splendour, majesty and fame of England shall endure. In Hobart were many noble things, an excellent eloquence, the éclat of ancestry, the most engaging sweetness animated with a singular gravity." Sir Henry's handwriting in several holograph leases attests the diligence and accuracy with which his private affairs were conducted. His son Sir John, who married, first, Philippa, daughter of Robert Sydney, dying without an heir male, left as his widow a second wife, Lady Frances. This lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater and sister of Lady Alice Egerton (the "Lady" of Milton's Comus), lived to old age in Chapel Field House in Norwich, for many years the local town house of the Hobarts.*

A note of Lady Frances to General Lambert and his reply to it (p. 89) show that the family was not without influence with the leaders of the Civil War; for though one or two cadets of the family were found in the ranks of the Royalists, its main influence was steadily on the Parliamentary side throughout the crisis, while the estates and title passed to Sir John, son of Miles Hobart[†] and nephew of his predecessor.

This Sir John, who enjoyed power and repute during the Commonwealth, "a quondam lord of Oliver Cromwell," as he is styled by Tompson, the contemporary newswriter, ilived to present in 1659 a petition for the return of the secluded members, to see his friend Sir John Holland of Quidenham the next year taking part in the deputation to bring the King back, and himself to return to the Lower House of Parliament after the Restoration, as member for Norfolk.

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^{*} Recent excavations show that the chapel of this chantry foundation stood in the open ground north of the house and east of the bowling green. A parcel of title deeds relating to this property are preserved at Blickling.

[†] The *Dict. Nal. Biog.* distinguishes this Miles Hobart from the Sir Miles who was conspicuous for locking the doors of the House of Commons during the vote on Tonnage and Poundage (1629). *Cf.* the passages there cited from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the grounds of this conclusion.

[‡] Unpublished Felbrigg papers. Sir John was in fact a member of Cromwell's Upper House.

Of these stirring and troublous times unfortunately no epistolary correspondence remains, and scarcely a trace of the visit paid by Charles II. to Blickling shortly after the Restoration, when he conferred knighthood on the ill-fated Sir Henry, Sir John's eldest son.

The Estreat of Subsidies for the year 1663 (pp. 89-116) gives a list of landowners in five hundreds; the name of "Philip Skippon, Esq., ultra mare," whose house is still conspicuous at Foulsham, illustrates the vicissitudes of political influence; a local tradition credits this noted republican general with profiting by his neighbourhood to Melton (p. 108) to become possessed by some illicit means of the plan of Naseby fight, from some follower of Sir Jacob Astley.

A volume of Lieutenancy Journals fortunately preserved (of which a few extracts only are here given) affords a valuable contribution to the county history of the later years of Charles II. and the Revolution, and supplements the scanty entries in the house books and other casual memoranda in affording glimpses of the party jealousies which the stress of civil strife had exacerbated and His Majesty's presence in the county soon after the Restoration had evidently not permanently allayed. The List of Deputy Lieutenants and Officers of Militia given on pp. 125-7 stands as it appeared after being reformed and expurgated in the interests of the Court by Robert Paston, Lord Yarmouth, who replaced Lord Townshend on his removal from that office in 1675. It is significant that none of the three first signatories of the manifesto for reducing the expenses of the High Sheriff (pp. 122-4) are included in the new commissions as Deputy Lieutenants or in the Militia, and this perhaps makes it probable that what appears to be a harmless sumptuary agreement for reducing extravagance

was represented at Court as having a disloyal intention.* Barillon's confidential imputations in his reports to Louis XIV. about this time as to the accessibility of certain country politicians to foreign influence suggest that economy was a matter of sufficient concern in the county to make the movement a natural one.

The entry (at p. 129) below, referring to the trial at the Bar of the House of Commons and another mentioning Verdon by name, are almost the only memorials of two contested elections fought with much determination by Sir John Hobart for the county representation in 1678-9, which were both the subject of petition. The first of these figures more largely in Mr. Ketton's Felbrigg papers. Mr. Windham on the first occasion had declined Sir John's overtures to engage him in Parliamentary life on the ground that his opponent, Sir Neville Catelyn, the Court candidate, was "encouraged from above and countenanced here," and his surmise seems to have had ample foundation.

The tide of Protestant and Parliamentary reaction on which Titus Oates was being floated to the surface was not yet flowing so turbulently as to discourage the Court party from making a bold bid for power at the general election in Jan. 1678-9, and Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catelyn enjoyed a short-lived triumph in being returned as knights of the shire, though Sir John after the "trial at barr" on his petition was successful in replacing Sir Christopher

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^{*} *Cf.* Hist. MSS., Rep. VI., part I., 374, William Hughes to Lady Yarmouth.

[†] Hist. MSS., Rep. XII., App. IX., 183.

Calthorpe, unseated.* But the contest was persistent and severe. The Lord Lieutenant and High Sheriff had been strong for the Court. "To oppose any interest sett up by the civil and military government of a country," Mr. Windham had written, "will be called faction by some, inconsiderate by others, and very improbable to be successful by most, and that he who is sole judge of the poll, and by whom the returne is to be made, is our open and declared enemie." Mr. Windham, however, seems to have been busy just at this time with the cielings of his house at Felbrigg, that beautiful Italian work in high relief that is still one of its chief ornaments, and was dragged a very reluctant Cincinnatus into the strife of the second election. The country gentry were perhaps naturally unwilling to renew the strife of a generation earlier and the acts of fraud and intimidation charged in Sir John Hobart's petition against Samuel Verdon, the under sheriff, support the theory that the latter was backed "from above," and that functionary's vigorous and defiant methods must have been exceptional even in the days of unreformed elections. First refusing poll books or writing materials to Sir John's voters and throughout the day fraudulently hindering the record of votes, tearing leaves from Hobart's poll books, several times "beating and abusing" the freeholders, he ended by closing the poll prematurely in the face of 1,000 unpolled

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^{*} Dean Prideaux' impressions of this election given in the Camden Society's volume of his letters to Ellis (p. 176) may be compared The Dean is in error in citing this election as for the last Parliament at Westminster of Charles II., and his general statements about it seem equally incorrect. He came to Norwich afterwards, and his report was probably at second hand.

[†] Unpublished Felbrigg papers.

electors, "violently took the pollbooks away, and drew his sword in defence of it." Paston, the Lord Lieutenant, was believed to have taken a strong part. The petition charges "that before the election several letters were dispersed as written by the said Lord as beynge Lord Lieutenant of the said county (Norfolk) to the gentry and clergy of the said county not only appointing persons by name to be the said knights of the shire, but assuming it would be an affront to him and his authority as Lord Lieutenant to elect or to be elected without his consent or concurrence . . ., and the said Lord Lieutenant's Steward as by his Lordship's command required some of his Lordship's tenants to give their votes for Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catelyn, who were threatened that if they did not vote for them, the farms which they had of his Lordship should be taken from "them."

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Unpublished Felbrigg papers. An account of Verdon and his eccentric progress to London is given by North in his memorial of the Lord Keeper Guilford (II., 21), where he also mentions how the insolence of this man secured him the favour of Judge Jeffreys. "The sergeant's men went down and took him (Verdon) ... But in bringing him up he would not be prevailed with, either to mount or dismount his horse, but forced the messengers at every town to lift him on and off, and at the same time had his clerks taking notes in order to testify these assaults of his person, for every one of which he intended to bring an notion of battery. It so fell out that as he was upon the road between Norwich and London the Parliament was prorogued, by which the warrant ceased, and after that the custody was a false imprisonment, and Verdon brought his action for it against the messengers, which action was tried at the Exchequer bar."

When Sir John's petition came on for hearing, the excitement of the Popish Plot was rising high, and he records how he was vexatiously shut into the house on one occasion, and detained during the arrest and examination of a suspect parliamentary lawyer, one Reading.

Sir John obtained the seat at the next election, and again with his son Henry sat in the Oxford Parliament of 1681. The Ryehouse Plot in 1688 marked the decadence of the Protestant and popular party, and the turn of the wheel found Sir John obnoxious to the ascendant faction. In execution of an order in Council addressed to the Earl of Arundel, who had succeeded Lord Yarmouth in the Lord Lieutenancy, his house was searched in July of the latter year. The list of arms found at Blickling (given at p. 130 below), is the result of this search. Mr. Scambler at Wolterton, Hamond Claxton at Aylsham, Henry Marsham at Stratton Strayless, and Thomas Newman at Baconsthorpe were at the same time subjected to a like ordeal. Dr. John Collinges, the biographer of Lady Frances and the Presbyterian chaplain of the Hobarts at Chapel Field, was arrested as a nonjuring suspect in 1685.* A few years later it was the turn of the Papists, and later, of the nonjurors to experience these reciprocal visitations. Christopher Layer, of Booton, who is marked for search in 1696 (p. 142), is uncle and namesake of the notorious conspirator who suffered at Tyburn in 1723. But as is shewn in these Lieutenancy Journals, these neighbourly inquisitions were rewarded on each succeeding occasion with less satisfying results. The seizures even at the period of the "horrid designe" of the Rye House in 1683 were of less value than variety. "A back, breast and head piece of a

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^{*} He appears to have been arrested twice this year according to the entries in the Lieutenancy journal.

horse" are found at Colney, "three Olliverian swords" at Warham. In 1696 Sir Christopher Calthorpe yields only "9 old carbines, 4 old musketts, one brass blunderbuss, 3 old pistols, 3 old swords." The four black coach horses seized by Sir Frances Guybon from Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, "one mealy faced and one with a white starr," are discharged by the Deputy Lieutenants in conclave, who certify that none of them is worth 51., "they being old and lame, and some of them blind." The lowest point is reached in 1707 with the seizure of "one musquet and a belt of bandoliers" from Mr. Lake at Sparham (p. 145).

Sir Henry Hobart on his succession in 1683 found the estates largely encumbered, and had further to reduce them by sale to meet the demands made by creditors. Taking an active part in the politics of the time and on the constitutional side, he appears to have presided over the counsels of the county in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant and to have favoured a policy more comprehensive than that of his superior (pp. 155-6).

It is no doubt to the appointment of his son, the first Earl of Buckinghamshire, to the Lord Lieutenancy, that is due the preservation of the Lieutenancy Journals of this period, which give a vivid illustration of the Revolutionary crisis of 1688-9. The militia force of the county is shewn to be in a high state of organisation, and the action of the Protestant Duke of Norfolk, cool-headed and constitutional. "Bel homme à cheval," as Evelyn calls the latter, it is evident (pp. 134-5) that his personality counted for something in the period of transition. He seems to have sat the fence with masterly firmness, and so long as hopes were held out by James II. that a Parliament would be summoned the forces of the county were engaged to maintain the existing régime. Not till the cause was surrendered by the retirement of

James II. was their weight thrown on the side of the Revolution.

In 1690 Sir Henry Hobart served on King William's staff at the battle of the Boyne, but on his return the embarrassed state of the country was not such as to afford any relief to his encumbered finances, and in a quarrel which is asserted to have had some connexion with his contested election for the county, he met with the wound from a left-handed antagonist* that proved fatal. A stone marks the spot at Cawston heath where this, one of the last duels fought with swords, took place. The long minority and succession of his son (three of whose sisters were borne in their infancy to the churchyard of Blickling) added little of public interest to the archives, and in the papers of his grandson begin what are practically modern politics.

The diplomatic papers collected by John second Earl of Buckinghamshire in the course of his long life (1723-1793) relate for the most part, 1st, to the period of his Embassy to St. Petersburg (Sept. 1762-Jan. 1765); 2ndly, to the American Colonies; 3rdly, to his momentous Vice-Royalty of Ireland. Among the private letters are eight bundles addressed to Sir Thomas Drury, of which Lord Buckinghamshire became possessed through his first wife Mary Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Drury. The chief public interest of these consists in the record which they contain of the feeling with which men in the more distant parts of the country viewed the invasion of

^{*} Oliver Le Neve of Great Witchingham, whilom Captain of the Eynsford (militia) Company. There was evidently political animosity involved in the quarrel. (*See* Le Neve Papers, edited by Mr. Rye).

'45, and of the fluctuations of the money market at the time.

The letters addressed by Lord Buckinghamshire to Henrietta Countess of Suffolk, the Lady Suffolk of Pope, Swift, and Walpole, are those of a son to an indulgent mother, for such she had been to him and his only sister since the death of their mother in 1726. They serve to complement and illustrate Lady Suffolk's letters to him in reply, which have been published in Croker's edition of her correspondence, while the curious narrative (pp. 166-170) of her interview with Queen Caroline on retiring from office at Court in 1734 goes far to support the belief of her friends, to which Horace Walpole refers while he dissents from it, that Lady Suffolk's "connection with the King was confined to pure friendship." The cryptic allusion to "Lord B." is probably to be explained by a passage in a contemporary letter from Lady Elizabeth Compton (Hist. MSS. Comm. Report XI, 4, p. 243) in which she mentions a rumour that Lady Suffolk had been too often seen in the company of Lord Bolingbroke at Bath, and that her retirement was the result of consequent suspicions cast upon her loyalty to the House of Hanover.

The Russian papers make a considerable contribution to the chronicles of British trade with Russia both before and after the first formal treaty of commerce concluded by Lord Forbes in 1734, and there is also a long series of documents relating to the disputed succession to the Duchy of Courland. This was an event which at the time passed with scarcely a comment in England, yet it was Frederick the Great's promise to support Catherine II. in her policy toward that Polish fief which was the first step to the conclusion of the alliance between Prussia and Russia in 1764, of which the direct result was the partition of Poland. The absorption of Courland by Russia had long been in

contemplation. Since the dissolution of the Livonian State in 1561, the Duchy had had an independent existence as a fief of Poland, and it was to the interest of Russia that it should be looked upon not as an appanage to the Crown of Poland but as a vassal state of the Republic. In 1733, the Czarina Anna made it a condition of her consent to support the election of Augustus III. of Saxony to the Crown of Poland that the Duchy should be so considered, and that it should not be divided into Palatinates. In 1737, the death of the last Duke Ferdinand of the Kettler family enabled Anna to force upon the Courlanders her favourite, John Ernest de Biren, whose grandfather had been groom to the Dukes of the ancient house. For one month in 1740, during the reign of the infant Ivan, the new Duke of Courland was Regent of Russia. For twenty years from May 1741 he was an exile in Siberia. Meanwhile, on the 3rd of January 1759, Augustus III. invested his son Charles Christian of Saxony with the Dukedom, at the request, as he declared, of the states of the country. But with the accession of Peter III. in 1762, Biren returned from exile once more to claim his Duchy, to become in the hands of Catherine the Second a convenient instrument in her design of ridding both Courland and Poland of the rule of the House of Saxony. It is at this point that Lord Buckinghamshire's papers take up the tale and furnish an official statement of the case on both sides between Russia and Poland in the matter of Courland. Stanislas Poniatowski's letter of 31st May. congratulating Duke Biren on his re-establishment, is significant as giving a clue to one of the conditions upon which he received the support of the Czarina in his election to the Crown of Poland.

The events which led up to that election are related by Thomas Wroughton, British Envoy to the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, from the point of view of a man who was strongly prepossessed in favour of Catherine II., with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy before her accession. Wroughton had at that time the office of Consul General at St. Petersburg, and it was said that his house became the place of rendezvous for the Archduchess Catherine and Stanislas Poniatowski. Whatever may have been the truth of this, Peter III., when there was a question of Wroughton's appointment as Envoy, refused to admit him to an audience, and he was in consequence recalled in March 1762, and sent as resident to Warsaw.

Lord Buckinghamshire's embassy to Russia, partly from the uncertainty surrounding the prospects of the new Empress, partly from the inadequate realisation at home of the importance of the Russian factor in politics (p. 371), was attended by no political success. He was, however, upon his return to England, offered the Embassy to Madrid, which he refused, and he held no other public office until he became Viceroy of Ireland in January 1777.

When Lord Buckinghamshire accepted the arduous task which Lord Harcourt had not reluctantly dropped, he encountered, without that cordial support from the Government at home enjoyed by his predecessor, a combination of difficulties which, having increased under Lord Harcourt's administration, offered at the close of that nobleman's tenure of office a prospect which he felt scarcely able to encounter. The advent of a new Viceroy, besides being the occasion for a renewal of unsuccessful claims for patronage, prompted fresh appeals for the redress of the commercial and financial disabilities under which Ireland was suffering, and a phase of more active agitation in and out of Parliament synchronised with the external disquiet caused by the unfavourable conduct of the American war.

During four years, however, of a period the most critical in English history, Lord Buckinghamshire contrived to maintain in some fashion the *status quo*. The like succeeding period of four years witnessed the advent and departure of as many Viceroys and the establishment of an independent Parliament. His partial success seems attributable to personal qualities of tact and temper, which, combined with a sincere zeal for the welfare of the Irish people, created, in the opinion of Grattan, "a passion in his favour approaching to love."

The impoverished and defenceless state of the country, indeed, seem amply to have justified the concessions granted during his Viceroyalty to the export trade and the Volunteers.

On the question of Free Trade a memorandum of Sackville Hamilton (p. 301) is worth notice. A number of such monographs was collected specially by Lord Buckinghamshire for the instruction of Government. These able and eloquent dissertations justified the economic reform which was precipitated by the growing danger of the trade with France, then inflated by the existing embargo on the export of provisions and other economical restrictions. "Two of her" (Ireland's) "provinces," says one writer, "may at this very day be called provinces of France as much as provinces of Great Britain." The rupture of diplomatic relations with France following on her action in regard to the revolted colonies, forced on the concession of an outlet for a trade which, diverted in illicit channels to France, had up to this time supplied a large share of the taxable wealth of the island. Of the same financial depression the rise of the volunteer movement was another natural outcome. The proposed militia scheme being abandoned for want of money, fresh drains were made on the military establishment, and the constant drafts of troops

for the American war could not be replaced, even though Scotland was laid under contribution, and we find the Athol Highlanders among the infantry of the garrison (p. 330). In these papers, however, we find little trace of the "impotent dismay" which the writer of the article in the Dictionary of National Biography (following Mr. Lecky) discovers in the Viceroy at this crisis. His attitude of passive acquiescence in the growth of these voluntary associations is not obscurely invited in Lord Sandwich's significant reminder that "a coast cannot be protected by ships alone," a phrase suggesting the tacit assent of the Home Government to a condition of things which the Viceroy was expected to tolerate, without any overt sign of approval.

If the extent and importance of the volunteer movement were at first underrated by him, the famous epigram of Hussey Burgh* is proof that the nation itself stood startled and surprised at the sudden growth and formidable proportions of its own military offspring. If official discouragement disparaged the movement in the eyes of immediate aspirants to Court favour, as these letters seem to show, that movement at least in its earlier stages was strong in the high character and loyal disposition of its leaders.

With the termination of his Viceroyalty, Lord Buckinghamshire's public life came to an end, though it may be gathered from these letters that the conduct of Irish business presented no difficulties (except those factitious ones arising from his unfortunate relation to his colleagues at home) that he felt unable to grapple with, and that he

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^{* &}quot;You have sown the dragon's teeth and they have sprung up armed men."

would not have been unwilling to utilise his experience in a second term of office.

Sir Henry Clinton's letters to Lord Buckinghamshire, written at and about the date of Lord Cornwallis' surrender, may interest students of the polemics of this episode, though they cannot be said to throw much additional light on an unfruitful controversy. The rude original prints of the manifesto of the Pennsylvanian line are tacitly eloquent of a crisis that seems so nearly to have wiped out the army of the revolted colonies.

Dying in 1793, the second Lord Buckinghamshire was buried the following year in the mausoleum which he had designed, but not lived to complete, in the centre of his park at Blickling. Tradition till lately kept alive the impressive memory of the torchlight procession which accompanied the translation from the church to their final resting-place of the remains of one who had filled an honourable place in the public life of his time, who had moved, a stately and representative figure, in the social and political scenes of his environment and generation.

This Report, with the Introduction and Index, has been prepared, with some assistance in revision of the early documents from the Rev. W. D. Macray, by Mr. D'Arcy Bedingfeld Collyer.

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN,

AT BLICKLING HALL, NORFOLK.

SECTION I.—ANCIENT DEEDS, ETC.

In the First Report of this Commission issued in 1870, one page is occupied by an account by Mr. A. J. Horwood of a few historical papers which he examined in July, 1869. But he makes no mention of the voluminous contents of the Muniment Room, which had not then been examined for probably a century and a half, and were entirely unsorted and unarranged, and evidently not then open to his inspection, as being no doubt supposed to lie outside the objects of his visit. These have now for the greatest part been sorted and are described below.

The manor of Blickling belonged to Harold at the Conquest, and the alleged site of Harold's house can even now be traced in dry weather in the cornfield adjoining the river which runs beyond the extreme end of the park from the north of the present Hall. The manor, according to the return made in the Hundred Roll of 3 Edw. I. (*Rot. Hundr.* vol. i. p. 513), was confirmed by Henry I. to Herbert, first bishop of Norwich, who gave it in exchange for Thorpe

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near Norwich to John le Cheny (sic), son of Robert Fitz Walter.

Mr. Horwood mentions the existence of certain classical MSS., with Missals and Books of Hours, which he was unable to see. These, which still have not been open to inspection, are, it is understood, chiefly, if not entirely, of foreign origin, possessing no English historical interest.

HORSHAM ST. FAITH.

Robert Fitz Walter, with Sibyl de Caineto his wife, founded the priory of St. Faith near Norwich, A.D. 1105-6, as a cell of the abbey of Conches in Normandy, in pursuance of a vow, under circumstances well-known and narrated by Dugdale. It became independent of the abbey in 14 Rich. II.

The Priory documents include a charter of confirmation by the founder's grand-daughter Margaret Cheyney, and a copy of one of her father, William de Kaneto, containing one of those ambiguities which sometimes gave rise (as it seems to have done in the present case) to disputed claims. A fine levied in 34 Hen. III., of which the record is among the papers, settled a dispute between Berengarius the Prior and Hugh de Cressy the patron as to the title to 5 acres of wood, "utrum sit libera eleemosina pertinens ad ecclesiam dicti Prioris de Horsham an laicum feodum ipsius Hngonis."

Among other benefactions to the priory is one of Theobald Halteyn, who bestows 67 acres for the benefit of the soul of his lord King Henry [II.] and his lord Humphrey de Buun [Bohun], for which he receives 27 marks to assist him in his expedition to Jerusalem. The name of the first or second prior hitherto not recorded, Austorgius, is found in a

charter which may be dated about 1120-30, and that of a successor, Bertrand, about 1140-60.

The manor rolls, commencing in 49 Hen. III., are very voluminous. The domestic discipline in regard to admitting strangers to sojourn in the village appears to have been strict, a number of presentments being made of persons who had entertained strangers without licence. A selection of presentments is given below.

There is also a small roll of the market court chiefly interesting in regard to the nature of the chattels 'attached' to answer the judgment of the court.

Among later documents, the probate of the will dated 1521 of Helen Carter (*see* Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. x. p. 438), providing for a Trental to be sung for twenty years by the monks, and providing for the repair of the cross in St. Faith's churchyard, is worth noting. Also the "testimonyall" or letter of commendation from Prior Stokes given to one Metcalfe, the bearer of a bede-roll.

BLICKLING.

The rolls of greatest interest and antiquity are those of Dagworth manor, in Blickling, which from the time of Bishop Eborard (Hen. I.) was separated from the episcopal manor until re-united in a grant from Henry VIII. to Sir John de Clere. It is recorded that Eborard sought a Bull from the Pope to restore it to the see on the ground that it was granted away in order to protect it during times of civil disturbance. The manor belonged to a series of historical families, Dagworth, Holveston, Engayne, Erpingham, Fastolf, Boleyn and Clere.

An interesting order in Chancery (in English), relating to the terms of purchase between Sir John Fastolf and Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, is copied at length.

A roll of 7 Edw. II. affords a good specimen of the varied and interesting matters which the early Blickling rolls contain. Presentments are made of a parochial chaplain prosecuting in a Court Christian, and for his usury; of the taking by a tenant the order of Exorcist without the lord's licence; of two parochial chaplains for being concerned in an affray; of hamsoken; breaking the assize; selling mead; raising the hue and cry unlawfully; regrating; purpresture; &c.

It is probably owing to the connexion of the Hobarts with Blickling that the muniments include so large and varied an accumulation of manor rolls. Lord Chief Justice Hobart, who amassed considerable estates in Norfolk in the time of James I., appears, with commendable carefulness, to have got into his hands the oldest muniments of the several properties which he acquired by purchase. It is probably owing to this that there is so large a collection of documents of the Priory of Horsham St. Faith's, which came to him after the Dissolution, when the connexion of the priory with the lords of Blickling as its founders had apparently long ceased to exist. Many of Hobart's leases to his tenants are apparently drawn in his own handwriting.

HEVINGHAM.

To Sir Henry Hobart is probably also due the early and interesting series of manorial documents of Hevingham (which was purchased from the Thetfords), a former "hunting-box" of the Bishops of Norwich on the road from Norwich to Blickling, where the bishops had a deer park, and a manor which appears to have flourished and

increased under their ascendancy. A charter of Bishop William Turbus granting lands in the manor to Herbert Catte and Alda his wife, "nepoti ejusdem Willelmi," suggests the origin of the name of "Catt's manor," which is not elsewhere accounted for.

An extent of the manor of Hevingham in the time of Henry III., with sundry interlineations (apparently amendments sanctioned by the King's Commissioners in Eyre), seems to illustrate the method in which manorial jurisdictions sometimes grew. This is here printed in full, and the corrections are noted by being printed in italics.

The charters connected with this manor include also an interesting compact under seal granting a "peace of mayhem" to the son of one considerable tenant who had injured another. The document is witnessed by a number of the junior representatives of neighbouring families. Here, as a presentment in Bishop Middleton's time [1278-88] attests, it was the custom for the tenants to choose yearly "tres homines ad officium prepositi, tres ad cornu gerendum, et unum ad officium porcarii."

The account-roll for the year of the Black Death is among these documents.

An entry on one roll relates that a number of the records were burnt by the mob at the time of Litester's rebellion (following Wat Tyler's), when Bishop Spencer was riding about after the rioters. North Walsham, where he defeated them, is only a few miles distant.

SAXTHORP.

There are two principal manors in Saxthorp, those of Mickelhall connected more especially with Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Loundhall. The latter extends into a number of adjoining parishes. William de Valence had a castle in this place, and the records shew it to have been a place of much greater relative importance than at present. The Loundhall rental of the time of Rich. II. noted below shews 243 tenants. The deeds and documents connected with these manors comprise the names of Wendenual (the holders *temp*. Hen. I.), William Valence Earl of Pembroke (a good impression of his seal), Ralph Lord Cromwell, Sir John Fastolf, Sir Thomas Erpingham, W. Oldhalle, Grey de Ruthin, Gresham, Yelverton, and W. Waynflete and other feoffees of Sir J. Fastolf.

There is a specimen of the seal of Bromholm priory, almost perfect, attached to a release of a rent of 4s. payable to the foundation.

Among the deeds worthy of note (of which there are not many in a very large collection) is a grant by Heloisa de Wendenual to an old servant of her father.*

Another of interest is the grant (27 Edw. I.) of licence to Sir Simon de Crepping from Richard de Hertford, the rector of the parish church, to have divine service performed "per idoneum capellanum" in a chapel or oratory to be erected by Sir Simon near his court, provided that Sir Simon attends the parish church on the four principal feast days.

any charter which he had seen.

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^{*} The Wendenvals or Wendevals are mentioned by Blomefield as the earliest tenants of the manor after the Conquest, but-he does not refer to the name as occurring in

A record of assize of 41-50 Ed. III. gives a considerable contribution to the pedigree of the Dautre family.

The free chapel of St. Dunstan seems to have been connected with the Mickelhall manor; it is not that for which the license above was granted.

The name of "Peddersty" for a path (deed of 6 Hen. VI.) may perhaps throw a light on the vexed question of the origin of the name Corpusty, the name of the adjoining parish. "Peddersty" is presumably "the pedlar's way." *Cf.* A. S. *Stig.*

The series of charters and rolls for Saxthorp gives evidence of the thicker population of these districts in the 14th century compared with that at present existing. A customary of the manor of Loundhall *temp*. Richard II. shews 104 tenants paying a money rental, with 56 who pay in kind altogether 210. The population of the parish of Saxthorp at the census of 1891 was 270.

LANGLEY.

Of the manor and abbey of Langley there was an ancient link with Blickling in the fact of its foundation by Robert Fitz Roger. In this case also the abbey site came into the hands of Chief Justice Hobart after the Dissolution, by purchase from Sir Richard Berney, and with it a beautiful survey or rental of the monastic lands dated 1288 in excellent condition.

WYMONDHAM.

A mass of bulky manor rolls of Wymondham deserve more detailed examination than time has permitted; the bailiffs' accounts (as in the case of all these collections) being fairly numerous. An interesting pedigree tracing the title of Buckenham from D'Albini to the Knyvetts deserves mention.

SECTION III.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE PAPERS. PART I.—1740-1758.

SIR THOMAS DRURY'S CORRESPONDENCE.

PEDIGREE OF DRURY FAMILY [OF OVERSTONE].

1740.—The Pedigree of the Drury family, by which it appears that Sir Thomas of this date was son to Joyce, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Beacon, of Ilford, in Essex. Sir Thomas Drury married Martha, second daughter of Sir John Tyrel, of Heron, in Essex, Bart., by Mary, his first wife, daughter of Sir James Dolliffe, of Mitcham, in Surrey.

JOYCE DRURY to [her son] SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1744-[5], Jan. 26. Colne.—I send inclos'd the order for the East India Dividend. I had wrote last post, but have had a return of the gout in my right hand which has made me very ill again.

The letter that came by fryday's post the 10th instant was charged two shillings sixpence, weight two ounces ½. I did not take it as I thought it was only news, I shall be glad to hear that you are well, and how both the children doe, with love to you and lady.

ORDER OF COUNCIL to LORD LIEUTENANTS.

1745, Sept. 5.—Reciting that the eldest son of the Pretender hath Presumed in open violation of the laws to land in the northwest part of Scotland, and ordering them forthwith to cause all arms belonging to Papists, non-jurors, or other persons that shall be judged dangerous to the peace of the kingdom within their Lieutenancy to be seized and secured according to the said Act, and to return an exact account to the Board.

Signed, HARDWICK, DORSET, PEMBROKE, CHOLMONDLEY, GRANVILLE, WILL. YONGE, T. WINNINGTON.

Copy.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Sept. 7. Garraways.—The D. of N. has wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him by the King's order that the Pretender's son has set up his Standard in Scotland, which has caused a Common Council to be called who have agreed to a most Loyal Address. The Merchants have had a meeting and chose the Committy they did last year with addition of M^{r.} Selwin and our friend M^{r.} Janssen, who is the person that has promoted the whole and keeps up the spirit, and they resolved to address his Majesty and there are about 500 subscribed since yesterday, among whom are People of the greatest Fortunes in the City as well as merchants. We are to go to Kenzinton Wednesday next, after which above 200 have subscribed to dine together at Merchant Taylors or some other hall upon which we promise ourselves great aid in the present juncture. Ten of our Redgments are ordered from Flanders and part of the Dutch we judge are already arrived in Scotland. If the affair in these parts be not soon quelled it may prove of Evil consequence.

S. Sea 103. Bank 143½. India 173½. Annu's 103. Tickets 13. $3 \text{ pc}^{\text{ts.}} 87 \frac{5}{8}.$ Salt $6\frac{1}{2}$.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Sept. 13.—I am favoured with yours of the 11th Inst. Am not at all surprised that you are alarmed, for by the Publick and privat acco^{nts} affairs seem to go in the North not to our wishes, and should any foreign force or forces land there or in any other part of the Kingdom it may prove of bad consequence, as we are at present provided, and we wish your Health would permit you to be in town at this Critical Juncture, for tho' a country Life may be preferable to the Continual dissatisfaction we labour under here still there are certain affairs not to be described at this distance and of which every man can only judge for himself. I would not willingly disturb you and still as you hold Stock on Loan if things do not cleare up you may suffer great inconveniences. Supose in Nov^{r.} next the present want of money or rather distrust &c. should increase or Continue, there is not any to be had even at 5% and E. India Bonds are not above 4 per cent, and should they come under parr so as to oblige the Company to give a greater Interest, you know what follows, for my part as I know not how to act for myself, much less can I advise; only thought proper to lay these considerations before you, on the other hand should the rebellion cease, affairs go well abroad by the

appearance of a Peace, Every thing would take a different turne and stocks recover their former price, nay higher than Ever, and did you hold no more than what is in your name I should not have writt to you a line on the subject. Upon the whole I heartely wish you may resolve on what will tend most for your advantage.

S. Sea 102.

India 174 for the 30 instant and 175½ for the 12 Novr., which prolongation is after this rate of 7 pc. per annum.

3 pc. 87¹/₄.

Annu' New 1053/4.

Tickets 12.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Sept. 14. Upminster Hall.—We have Divers Reports as to the Strength and Success of the Rebels but there is not one to be depended on. 'Tis agreed that the Dutch must by this time be landed in Scotland so that we hope soon to hear of their being quelled. I don't believe the Ministers are in very great pain, for we have had no orders about the papists yet which you know we had when they talk^d but of the Invasion sometime since.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Sept. 21. Garraway.—I congratulate you on the arrival of 14 E^t India Ships at Galloway in Ireland. They came without convoy; had not providence protected them we had been in a fine condition, as we are Elsewhere. The P. was proclaim'd last tuesday at Edinburgh, the People let the Rebels in without opposition, I can not express my thoughts this way but it looks as if we were betray'd or what is more neglected. The Dutch Troops are all arriv'd in

the River Except 5 Transports to Burlington Bay in Yorkshire instead of Scotland. We may expect 6,000 of our forces next week, but still I must confess that people of Property being out of town at this juncture is not prudent. It is an indignity to that 20 people should land above two months since and be suffer'd to put so many people in consternation, and if no more care is taken then what I perceive, the same fate may attend the City.

India 176. Salt 6½. S. Sea 103. Tickets 13. Annuis 108. 3 pc. 11½.

Enclosure:—

1745, Sept.—LIST OF SHIPS ARRIVED AT GALLOWAY.

Mocha and Bombay Montague Freeman Robinson St. George Bengal K. William **Phillips** Bombay Winchelsea Adair (dead) Bengal Winchester Steward Coast and Bay St. Helena and Bencoolen Cæsar Court York Lafeectles? Fort St. George and China Stafford Baker China P. William Langworth Coast and Bay Watts Bengal and Bencoolen Lapwing D. Dorsett Frognall Coast and Bay Beaufort Stephens Fort St. George Godolphin Jas. Stephens Bengal Dorrington Crab Do.

Arrived at Galloway on Monday last.

EARL OF HALIFAX to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Oct. 2. Audeley Street, Wednesday night,—Tho' my hands are so full of business that I have not a moment to spare to anybody but you, I trouble you with this to acquaint you that I am informed the general meeting of our County to consider of proper measures to be taken in the present dangerous situation of our affairs is fixed for Friday next. I set out to-morrow morning and have a place in my Coach at your disposal.

EARL OF HALIFAX to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Oct. 7. Audeley Street, Monday night, 12 o'th Clock.—I take the earliest opportunity of informing you that His Majesty when I deliver'd the Association to him this morning with our Lord Lieutenant in his Closet (for his Grace's business made us too late for the Lev6e) express'd the utmost chearfullness and satisfaction at the procedings of his faithful servants in Northamptonshire. Before I had the Honour of seeing His Majesty he had given directions for my Commission as Colonel to be made out. I hope with your assistance (which I greatly depend upon, hearing how hearty a zeal animates you upon this occasion) and that of my other friends I shall soon compleat my Regiment. Never was there an occasion that called upon us to exert ourselves so strenuously as the present one, and that the safety of the whole depends upon the zeal and spirit of particulars.

P.S.—I am just now informed that Mr. Ward of Stoke, who has already some men, promises ten pence a day to all that will enlist over and above his Majesty's pay. This method I apprehend is a very unfortunate one for us, especially in the beginning of the affair; and I heartily wish it may not get air in our Part of the Country. The Duke of Bedford gives no premium; those who engage with him have only the King's pay and yet his Regiment is almost compleat as I hear already.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Oct. 9. Chelmsford.—"We have just now signed here a most loyal Address with an offer of our Lives and Fortunes which you will say is no great Compliment from me and an Association, and tho' late we are come pretty Hearty. We had the Lords FitzWalter and Waldegrave and the greatest Appearance I ever saw at Sess. and almost Assizes."……

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Oct. 12. Garaways.—Our affairs relating to Stocks are somewhat better, tho' the great scarcity of money continues. I have been forced to pay after the rate of 12 cp. p. annum. We are aprehensive for Barwick and nothing but more regular Troops will put an end to our troubles. All things are in my opinion of no service but to hinder the King's Levees and cause discontent among his Troops.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Nov. 23.—There are sellers of [Lottery] Tickets at £9 14s. which shews you what such affairs are when left to their own course. The same would have happened last year had I not taken care to prevent it, which might have been done this year by buying about 2,000 Tickets, the want of which I wish may not be of fatal consequences in raising the next supplies.

HUGH MARRIOTT to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Nov. 19. Tooke's Court, near Chancery Lane.—I suppose you know that the City of Carlisle has been under a necessity of capitulating to admit the Kebels and pay 2,000*l*. to save them from Massacre. By the best accounts

the Capitulation was made on Thursday night and the Rebels had a Gate given up to them on Friday morning. News of it was immediately sent to Marshal Wade, and the Letters which came from Newcastle to a friend of mine by yesterday's post mention the armys being advanced on their way to Carlisle by Hexham if practicable for the artillery, if not they must return and go round by Bernard Castle, and there is no hope that the Citadel of Carlisle can hold out till they arrive. The enclosed is from our steward Cumberland written you will see before he knew what was passing about 16 m. further North. When I shall hear from him again God knows, for the enemy is no doubt at Penrith by this time or further and then all Posts will be stopped from thence as they were yesterday from Carlisle. When I pick up anything more than is in the newspapers on good authority I shall acquaint you with it directly and send you my letters if any, which be so good as to return by next post.

Since writing the above I find at the Rolls that it is not the citadel (which is an inconsiderable place) but the Castle that stands out, and that we have secured in it the artillery and military stores.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Nov. 30. Garraways.—Last Wednesday there was a Meeting at the Crown in order to endeavour to raise part of the Land Tax, and we adjourned till Tuesday next, am aprehensive it will be very difficult to compleat. However I will do on my part all that is in my power. The scarcity of money increases and the Exchange rises for Amsterdam, which proves that the Merchants are willing to give their assistance. The Lord Mayor has opened a subscription as you will find by the Papers. I contributed £100, and will give my assistance as I find it is not to be done from those

it was expected. All the News (Except what is in the Papers) is that Stewart the Provost is in London and was taken into custody this morning.

PHILIPPA ISTED to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 5.—Mr. Neale of Wellingboro is just now come here, and brings word that a gentleman of that town whose authority may be depended on went this morning at three o'clock to Leicester, where he stayed till several Officers belonging to the Rebel Army arrivid there to demand quarters for the Army which was to be there this evening. Upon that unwellcome news my Aunt desires me to give you this trouble, with her best compliments, and begs the favour of you to send the four horses (you were so good this morning) to offer her by the bearer, with which we purpose setting out as early as possible to-morrow morning. She desires to know which will be most agreeable to you, either for her to return your horses as soon as she gets to Town, or for her to keep them there; whichever you chuse, she with pleasure will do.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRUEY.

1745, Dec. 5. Garraways.—We expected an account this Evening of an action, but not hearing of any, fear they may have slipt our Army which God forbid. As you are lame I cannot expect you in Town. Otherwise no man would be absent with your Concernes. If you have money in your hands that you make no use of please to send me a drauft for £297 14s. . . . The subscription in the City for the Land Tax amounted to £503,000 and with much difficulty the S. Sea 40,000, London Assurance 50m. and Royall 20,000 to compleat the Affair, but what is that to the sum wanted? In short I am much discontented

P.S.—This is a crisis, if any thing turns in our favour there will be money found.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 7. Garraways.—I rec^d yours dated the 5th am sorry you have been In such a Consternation and do assure you the alarms of the Rebels approaching had the same Effect here but being informed that his Royal Highness the Duke would be at Northampton this Evening we are in better spirits, there is a perfect stagnation in our affaires here and nothing doing in Stocks except 4 pc. annuis which are under parr.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 10.—I hope your consternation has abated by finding the rebells are gone from you, at least it has in some measure that effect here.

Coud you have Employd ten people I am perswaded they woud not have spoke to more men who upon other Occasions are ready to lend their money on Stocks &c. and still without effect, and what helps to keep all Bankers Back is that one of them who lives in the house that was Woodward has stoped payment, tho' when they can buy India Bonds at £3 disco^t and demand the money of the Company they make after the rate of 9 cp. per annum with the best security, and Navy Bills at 10 cp. Disct. &c. I do assure you had I the Cash none of these considerations should be inducing to obstruct my advancing it to you at lawfull Interest, but I am dubly unhappy in having mine Invested.

HUGH MARRIOTT to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 10. London.—I give you many thanks for your favour of the 7th. By the very false accounts you will perceive the News gave concerning the arrival of our Army at Northampton, you may see the value of a letter from the spot. It will be a singular satisfaction to me when you can continue me the favour of such. Rumours arise and are contradicted so very fast that I intend to trouble you with none. I will however let you know the truth of two matters about which I dare say you will be sollicitous. The first is that I have it from very good hands and it is universally agreed that the young Person in the Tower is not the Pretender's son. The other is about the Law Regiment which I fully thought on Sunday noon to have inlisted myself as a private centinel before night. The fact was represented to me thus, viz: that all the Regular Forces were to go as yesterday with his Majesty to encamp on Finchley Common and therefore as the guarding of the rest of the Royal Family remaining at St. James' must at all events be left to undisciplined men, none would be so proper for the purpose as persons of Fortune and publick character, and that as we Counsell who signed the Association and address (Note—none in the Law of inferior Rank to Counsell were allow^d to sign it) had thereby offered our persons and were a known and considerable body His Majesty had been asked whether he would accept our service for that purpose, and had been pleased to say he would be much satisfied to leave his family in so good hands and that in fact most of the Counsell fit to bear arms who were of note either in their profession or for their families or estates had agreed to it. In this Light it was so honourable and gallant a Duty that I should have been excessively pleased to undertake it. But when I went on the Sunday evening to the general meeting at the Middle Temple Hall, I found there the Lord Chief Justice Willes, it is true, talking very floridly and averring he was to have his Commission as Colonel of this Regiment as soon as we had

agreed upon a name for it: but instead of the honourable company I expected, there were not, that my glass could bring to my eye, 20 Counsell in the room that either had £200 per annum estate or business to that amount. Not 6 Counsell of any eminence (not one of the King's Counsell) and very few Attorneys or Solicitors of note, but the Assembly (except some young gentlemen students) was chiefly composed of the very low sort of Practitioners, not without a mixture of clerks and hackney writers, which last our colonel was unwilling to take out of the Muster Roll, and declared if we excluded them he would form them into independent Companies, but all under attorneys and solicitors were at last excluded. You may believe I would not inlist under these circumstances, when by His Majesty's message to us it appeared the cause of thinking of it was over. In short it was a mere job to make seem the head of the Law. Whether the truth got to Court or not I can't tell, but this morning the Colonel came in his Judge's habit and acquainted the Assembly that Lord Harrington had (instead of his expected commission, for that I assure you he never had, and so now owned) wrote him a letter by the King's order to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Law (with very gracious acknowledgements of the offer of their service) that he had now received certain advice that the Enemy were retreating into Scotland and that with so much precipitation that it was not expected even Wades army could get up with them, and as by this change of affairs there was no occasion to draw the forces out to Finchley, he desired they would put themselves to no further expence (for the uniform was really making) till further intimation of his pleasure.....Thus ended this Project which promised so fairly and honourably at first, but by the impetuosity and selfintresstedness of --- grew into such ridicule that few gentlemen who in the zeal of their hearts and on account of the apparent immediate necessity signed on Saturday (which was the day it began) knew what to do with themselves or how with honour to go either on with it or from it.

AMBROSE ISTED to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 10. Ecton.—I have just recd, the accounts I send you from Mr. Rogers. Since he wrote Mrs. Rogers writes to my sister that a great part of the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse are arrivid at Northampton, and mentions an Article which he had not heard before, viz. that the Chief Officers of the Rebels lay at Mr. Binghams at Derby, and said there that they designed for Northton on Friday morning. But one of their chiefs went off in the night as they imagined to betray them to the Duke, and that was the reason of their returning in such a Hurry. A warrant has come hither to the same purpose as that to Overstone, and I find that such have been sent to all the Towns round as far as Yardley.

I propose to set out early tomorrow for the Regiment.

DENISON CUMBERLAND* to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, Dec. 16. Stanwick,—Your news gave us great pleasure especially as it confirms a flying report we had here on Saturday from Leicester, that the Duke had demolished the rear of the Rebels and that they expected hourly to hear of their total destruction; which pray Heavens may be speedy and so general that not one, especially of their Chiefs, may escape.

was Richard Cumberland, the dramatist.

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^{*} Denison Cumberland (1705-1774), Hector of Stanwick and later Dean of St. Paul's. He was Bishop of Clonfert, 1763-1772, and Bishop of Kilmore, 1772-1774. His son

S. GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745, December 28. Garraways—The News of the Queen of Hungary having Concluded a Peace with the King of Prussia gave new Life to our friends and is indeed an affair that may produce good consequences. He is a Man of Extraordinary Capacity, has upwards of 100 Thousand men Excelent troops and he aims much at Glory, and I hope will forward a general Peace in Europe. God send he may or by degrees we shall all be undone. Several rich merchants (of fortune in goods and beyond the Seas) have been oblig'd to stop payment. The scarcity of money being such that there is none to be raised at any rate and if it continues I cannot point out which way the Publick will be furnished with the vast sums they must require. The Rebels are gone towards Edinburgh and Hally appointed generalissimo. Shall not enter into Politicks because I don't understand them. All I can lerne as a looker on is that we are in for the whole winter at least, unless some unforseen accident. Nothing doing in stock.

[REVD. NICHOLAS] LECHMERE to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745[-6], Jan, 14. [Warnford, near West Meon, Hants.]—The covers you was so kind as to frank are now near all used, and I would not presume to send you a fresh parcel without leave first obtained. I therefore beg a line or two to signify your pleasure herein. It is as I before told you the only amusement I have in a little country village consisting of Farmers only, and what I would be sorry to be without at any time, and especially at the present, which is the most critical that I can remember. I live about twelve miles from our coast between Chichester and Portsmouth, and it is impossible to express the terrors we have been in on account of the intended French invasion. Once in particular we had positive information that they were actually landing

between Chichester and Arundel, the whole country was alarmed. Chichester-gates were shut and the People under arms, the same at Portsmouth, and several expresses actually sent up to London; when, Behold, the upshot of the whole affair was, some smuggling vessels landing their goods and a large party of armed smugglers on shore receiving them, which were taken for french troops just disembarkt. At the same time Admiral Vernon* with his fleet hovering over our coast, was at a distance interpreted to be a French squadron to cover their troops as they landed. I thank God we have by his good providence weathered the point so far, and I hope He will give such a blessing to the measures taken by the Government, as that they may defeat the machinations of our Enemys in all quarters. I heartily wish all happiness and prosperity to yself, my Lady and family.

JOYCE DRURY to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745-[6], Jan. 15. Colne.—I received your Letters and am very much concerned to hear that you have the gout so often. I sympathize with you. Since I wrote to you have had the gout very severe in my hands and feet, but thank God, I am better.

I fear the troublesome times wont be at an end soon, people this way have been very much frighted and hide their best effects. I desire you will send me a noat upon Mr. Owen for thirty pounds. I had rather have money then a Bank draught. I shall be glad to hear that you are well, with love to Lady Drury and the children.

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^{*} Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757) created Admiral, 1745.

SAMSON GIDEON to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745[-6], Jan. 23. London.—At a General Court of the Directors (of South Sea Stock) proposed 1¾ per cent, for the 6 months due at Xmas and a Ballot demanded in favour of 2 per cent. Should the latter be resolved upon there will remain still a sinking fund to discharge the small debts due for dividend warrants, &c.

The fatal Bad news wee received yesterday from the North of which the papers abounds as stop'd the rise of our funds and sunk peoples Spirits considerably. H.R.H. the Duke is going down, and hope he will recover our shame, but it is pety he should go without ten Thousand men that he may run no risque.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

Feb. 11. London.—We 1745[-6], are in great Consternation. Yesterday the 2 Secretaries of State resigned. Lord Granville is appointed in the room of Lord Harrington, the other undisposed off. Too day Mr. Pelham, all the Admiralty, Lord Gower, Dukes of Richmund, Dorset, Devonshire, and too morrow the Chancellor and Attorney General, 'tis said the Attorney has refused the Seals as hath Willes; his Reason was he did not care to part with a certainty for a place of so small Duration, as every body imagines they must soon come in again the Body they went out.....

I congratulate you as to the Flight of the Rebels, people are now very easy as to them.

HUGH MARRIOTT to Sir THOMAS DRURY.

1745[-6], Feb. 11. Tooke's, near Chancery Lane.—I could not help accquainting you, lest other Correspondents should omit in this post that the whole Ministry you left in possession is or will be out before you receive this. D. of Newcastle and Ld Harrington resigned yesterday. L^d Cobham's men all go out in a lump. It is expected L^d Can^e will give up the Seal to morrow. His successor is not known, but most People say the Attorney General has refused that high office, that L^d Ch. I. Willes is to be the man, and Sir Thos. Bootle to succeed him. L^d Granville is to be the Head of the new Ministry. It is said L^d Bath is to be a Secretary of State, and L^d Sandys again Chancellor of the Excheq^{er} I think I never even out of the North writ you any thing more surprizing.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745-[6], Feb. 13. London.—I wrote you last post of the great Revolutions in the Ministry. I now congratulate you on as speedy a Change to the Right as you were is the Word of Command all I hear is that everything is to be as it was. Lord Granville having continued sole Secretary for twenty-four hours the Secret History of the Affair I dont doubt you will have from better Hands. We have a Report of a Skirmish between some of the Rebels and some of our Troops to the loss of 400 of our Men but I know not the Truth.

HUGH MARRIOTT to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1745-[6], Feb. 15. Tooke's Court, near Chancery Lane.—Till 8 o'clock on Wednesday (the last day of Term) It continued to be thought a fixed thing that Lord Chancellor was to resign, as many persons of the first quality had then actually done. But about that time He was sent for to Court off the Bench and all the Resigners of the first rank (the

whole number that agreed to stand by one another in resigning was about 45) were that night at Court. We were told It was then agreed that Lord Granville should go out and the whole Ministry should be again as it was the week before: and it is said that the Intended New Ministry had before then been in the City to see what money they could get advanced on the Supplies and could not get a Farthing. Thursday evening It was thought all were to go out again and there was at least this foundation for it that the papers of seals (which you know used to be published the last day of Term) was not come to the Registers office on Thursday Night. And it is publicly said that those who had contracted with the old ministry to advance the money on the supplies granted for this present year had been to beg to be off their Contracts. On Thursday night the Chief Ministers assembled again. The paper of Seals is since come out and It is now universally believed that Lord Chancellor is quite safe again (to our great joy), and that the Ministry is to be just as it was before the change my last informed you to be intended.

WM. LISTER to SIR THOMAS DRURY, M.P.

1745[-6], March 15. Wellingboro'.—In December last I had the misfortune to break a Bone in my Leg and to displace my ancle joynt attended with imminent danger from mortification for sometime, which renders me unable to ride, otherwise I would have waited on your honour, having been concerned in raising some young fellows for Mr. Isted's company now lying at Carlisle and Lancaster. Their indigent condition through sickness and hardships being very deplorable obliges me to compassionate their sufferings, and frequently to exhort them to patience and steadfastness forces me most humbly to petition your honour to grant me the favour of some Franks, &c.

HENRY FOX to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, March 31.—A 'whip' to attend the House "Wednesday se'ennight, when his Majesty's intentions with regard to foreign affairs will be opened and some opposition to what will be then proposed is expected."

CHAMPION BRANFILL to MR. THOMAS DRURY.

1746, April 17. Inner Temple.— . . . the News mends on us and stocks rise. I was just now told that there is an Express arrived that on the Duke's passing the Spey the rebels have actually fled and are dispersed. I wish it may be true; the Acc^t of another victory over the Spaniards and French by the Piedmontese and Austrians wants confirming. I believe we outdo you again in Hounds. Mr. Braund bought last Monday the widow Bennets (we have now 36 couple) who by the by has just been inoculated for the Smalls and is recovered, but has it very full in her Face, that Face which was the Admiration of one Sex and the envy of the other is no more.

CHAUNCY TOWNSEND* to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, April 19.—I should most willingly give you the account why and who is togeather if in my power. The most I can make of it is all are togeather who have or can have places &c. for opposition seems to be only for and the only way to obtain their demands. Pitt seems the object and by what I hear the debate was not to the Question at all and

^{*} Chauncy Townsend, a merchant in Austin Friars, died 1770. He was father to Joseph Townsend geologist.

but entirely personall and few spoke well, the best M^{r.} Lee^{*} in behalf of the Question and his steady principles, blaming those who attempted so light and so mean a covering to the same last year, and those who now without new matter approved which last year disapproved.

HUGH MARRIOTT to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, April 26. Tooke's Court, near Chancery Lane.—My fingers have itched to make you some amends of comfort by saying something to you on His Royal Highnesses glorious success. But as the Posts have happen'd I perceiv'd the Gazettes w^{ld} bring you Everything authentick about it as soon and as particularly as you cld receive any account of it from me. I shall only add that the firing of the Tower Guns on Thursday seemed to me the loveliest musick I ever heard and that that evening had the most universal Illumination save from great part of the Scotch People of Distinction and some Commoners whose sentiments have always been pretty well known. As the Gazette will probally come out to-night too late for the Post it may be a satisfaction to you to know (as I can assure you from good hands) that another Express came in to-day with still better accounts of this great action but I have not particulars of credit enough to send you.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, April 27. Inner Temple.—I presume you have heard before now of the entire Victory over the rebels, viz. 1,000 killed and 600 taken prisoners. L^d Kilmarnock, the Secretary and French Embassador, are among the last. Our

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^{*} Probably George, afterwards Sir George, Lee, D.C.L., M.P. for Devizes, 1742

private Accounts make the number above as many again. They both agree that our loss exceeds not 130 killed and wounded. There is no mention of the Pretender's son. I reckon you will have a full account to-night in the Gazette.

. . .

CHAUNCY TOWNSEND to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, May.—Your favour of the 6th I received and if had answered it last post should have told you for a certainty that Pitt had not overcome, but hear today Pitt is to be Paymaster. Sir W^{m.} Yongue his Post and Fox the latter's, Arundell Sir J. H. Cottons, and Legg for one at the Treasury and one at the last gone at the Admiralty is what I don't hear who succeeds to. I am sorry, I fear I see this cuts Pellham's throat, for by this as in all late removes he gives into his Enemy's hands. I am much better but Mrs. Townsend has had a return of her fever very severe but now better in the Country. As to our Court Marshall tis unnamable a great Expense to come at nothing, they and the Court are the worst of a bad people.

WILLIAM HANBURY to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, May 4. Harleston.—I congratulate you on the success of our arms. The affair is now I hope finished.

I desired Butterfield, Mr. Isted's servant, to acquaint you that George Briggs, late of his (now of Capt. Boisnegan's) company, deserted from me at Lancaster, he is of Orlingbury. I wrote to Mr. Isted concerning him but find he is gone to Bath. I must therefore ask you to take him up and secure him in the County Gaol of Northampton.....

I have herewith sent a printed pamphlet on the Clipston hospital. It is in a very good way, much to the satisfaction of the Visitor, and the Master has already 54 scholars, and is likely to have many more.....

CHAMPION BRANFILL to SIR T. DRURY.

1746, May 29.—I take it that there must be something arthritic in the air, for all the gentlemen in the Neighbourhood are gouty, and their Horses are troubled with the same distemper...... I am extreamely glad to hear you continue in good health and as a means to keep you so I am glad you write with some pleasure about your Hounds, for I am satisfied that altho' Hunting will not cure the Gout, yet that it will prevent a man's being a cripple with it in his younger time, for I have observed that the sportsman let his fit be severe, yet he recovers his strength and has no sensible remains if another fit attacks him, but the sedentary and sauntering man doth not recover his strength after the fit, before he's laid up with another, and in a few years is rendered a helpless, miserable object.

HUGH MARRIOTT to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, June 5. Tooke's Court, near Chancery Lane.—If you have a mind to put on solemnity indeed, Come up and be one of the managers; for it seems the Speaker insists so strongly that while the Parliament is sitting, the Rebel Lords must be tryed by Impeachment that a Court is at last to be erected in Westminster Hall to that purpose, though it was hoped the Nation might have been spared that great expense

NATHANIEL NEAL to SIR THOS. DRURY.

1746, June 7. Million Bank.—We have had strong rumours of peace for several days, which have raised the Stocks, particularly French in India, but I am inclined to think the

Commissions that have been lately sent hither from Holland for purchasing in those funds have been the chief occasion yet.

I presume you have heard Admiral Lestock^{*} has been honourably acquitted by the Courts Marshall, and that he is soon to go to Sea with the command of a Fleet of Ships.

The secret Expedition for which the Troops were to have been embark'd at Portsmouth is now wholly laid aside. It is said that Admiral Martin[†] has block'd up the French fleet at Rochelle. The winter diversions as balls, plays, etc. are recommenced for the entertainment of the Prince of Hesse, but I suppose will not last above a week.

JAMES DOLLIFFE to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746, Oct. 15. Hockston.— . I am very much concerned to hear we have been defeated in Flanders, from which I fear very ill consequences and particularly that it may occasion the Dutch to explain their long misterious conduct by coming to an agreement with France upon the terms they will prescribe under a pretence that they are not in a condition to make any further resistance. If this should happen and we are not included in the accommodation how are we to act? And what are we to expect?

CHARLES COE to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

* Richard Lestock, 1679?—1746 (December). This Court Martial related to the action in the battle off Toulon. 1743[-4].

[†] Admiral William Martin (1696?-1756) had succeeded Admiral Vernon in the chief command. December 1745.

1746[7], Jan. 16. Maldon.—As nothing in my opinion is a greater proof of Friendship than a free and generous Behaviour, I am obliged upon that Principle to tell Sir Thomas Drury the Result of a Meeting on Tuesday last of five Aldermen and eleven Common Council men with your humble Serv^{t.} as the only means to secure the Whig Interest at this Borough, viz^{t.} to support the joint Interest of Sir Rich^{d.} Lloyd and Robert Colebrooke, Esq^{re} at the next generall Election, and as I am never ashamed to assign the reasons of my Conduct, I will explain them and freely submitt them to your candid Judgment . . . by my last I am persuaded you were satisfied that I was zealously disposed to prevent the Tories imposing Mr. Edmund Branston upon us at the next Election, tho' at the same time I, tho^{t.} it quite unseasonable to come to a Nomination, notwithstanding I have been pressed hard by Gentlemen of very great figure. However as Mr. Bramston has not only rode the Country to Engage Votes, but made a personall application to all the Freemen inhabiting the Borough and as I am firmly perswaded some of the Tories have bragged that by this scheme they shall defeat the Coes, and as Sir Richard Lloyd has also made a very considerable Interest, the Whigs in Truth had no other Card to play in your Absence but to agree to this Junction, or let in a Friend of the Tories to break the Interest now and as a Naturall Consequence to be Master of the Corporation by another Parliament. I am sorry to tell you that everybody does not see the Bottom of this Contrivance so clearly as I wish they did, but as I have the most feasible Convictions of the Disguise I am obliged to join with the Corporation to support the nomination, and in this I hope you will not charge me with the lest Insinuation of Disrespect paid to your Character or Interest. Am sure I don't deserve such an accusation and had you appeared at the Sessions I would have shewn you my Regards.....

JAMES BIRCH to SIR THOMAS DRURY.

1746[7], Feb. 18. Chere Brocke [Cherbourg], Normandy— This comes to aQuaint you of my onhapey misforton. Been taken for to France by a Privout Teare from Saint Mallow cald the Prince De Country on the Seaventh of December and brought here. But I hope good Serr you will sone Release me from this Ineymys Contrey or elsse I shall dy. I have got my Peroll of Honer, and the Commisarey has rote to Parriss for me to be Returned for a Captⁿ of the Bockoncore of this plase Lately taken by the Porkeipine Man of War and carued in to plimouth his name is Capten Delamare of this Plase. So I hope good Ser, you will stand my Freind and Rite down to Plimouth for his Release and then I shall come home to serve you or your Intrast. he is at Tavistocke, and then I shall bee Bound to Pray for you all Days of my Life and will doe any thinge that Lyeth In my Power. I wold give you a Count of the afearis of this contrey, but Duste not, for all Leaters are opend at Pariss. So deer Sir I remaine your most hivmbell servant to command,

JAMES BIRCH, of Maldon.

CHAMPION BRANFILL to THE SAME.

1750, Nov. 13. London.—(Has just come up from Upminster) We talk here of nothing but a Distemper which has got amongst the Horses every where I can hear of, nor can I find one that has missed it; they have violent coughs and most of them run prodigiously at the nose. We have ten in our stables all very ill, we have at present only let them blood and given them mashes and warm water, but I call by and by on Dr. Tottergill for further advice.

P.S.—You see in the Papers an account of a Colonel's Commission from the Pretender, found in the repairing an old house. The Commission was to Holloway late Treasurer of Bedlam and Bridewell, and it is imagined the dread of being found out was the occasion of his shooting himself.